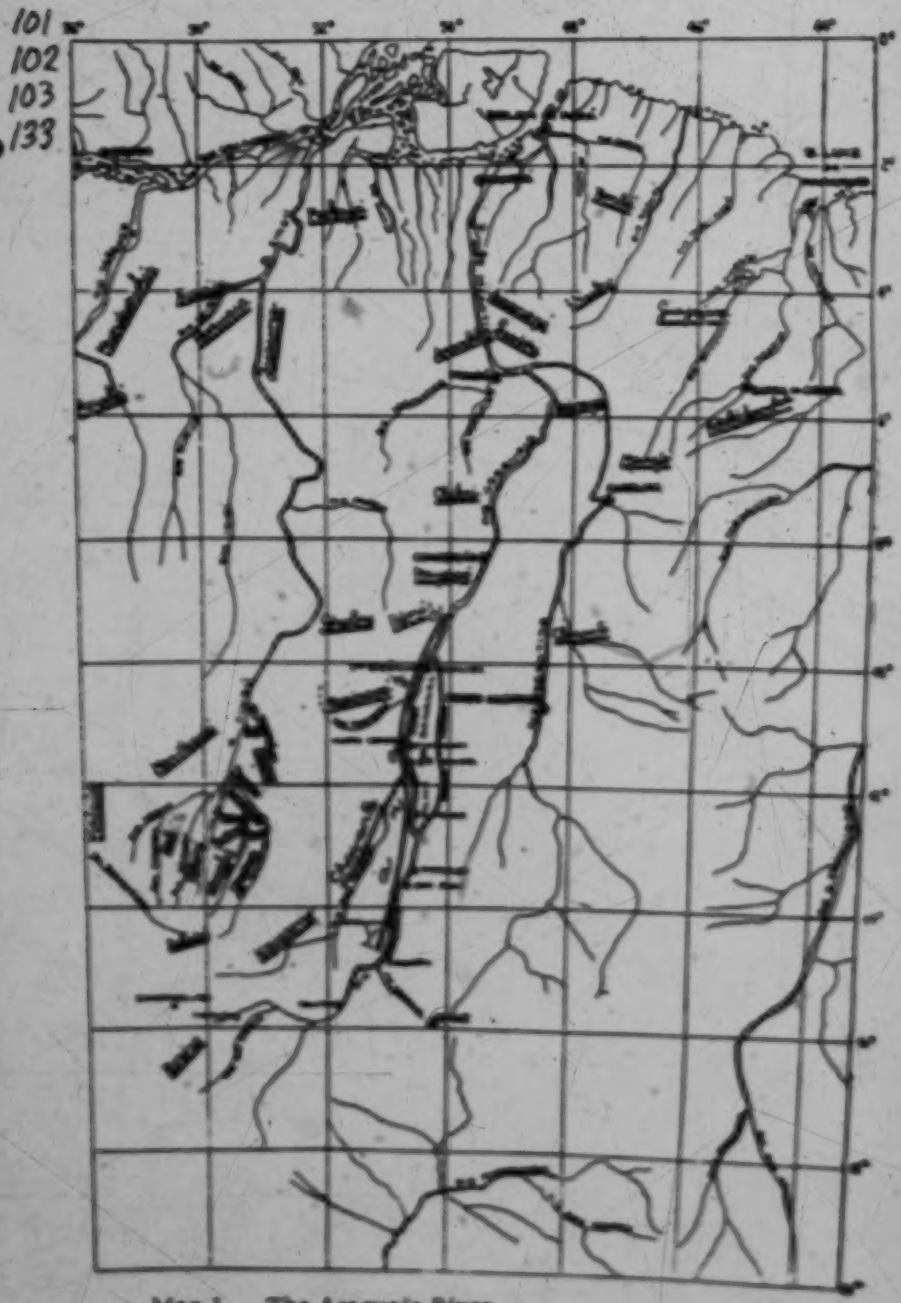
1:Baldus--3 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Map 1. The Araguaia River

[97:45] Chapter 1

The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

[97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

• 133 137 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50] over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado [Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes the distance between the trees increases, and they become better developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas, that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil [134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while I was in Tampîtama [later referred to as Tampiitama], the village of the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest, and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be 134 so hard that the Indians manage their feet and legs after having walked [491] several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

1: Baldus--S E-S (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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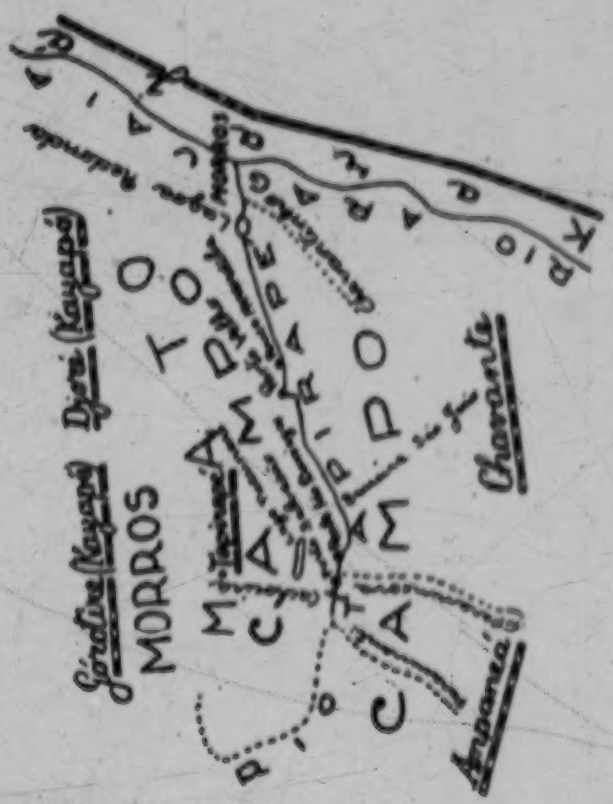
RIO ARAGUAIA
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Xambioá
Karajá

137 241 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded 133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing 312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid 226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity 487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a 114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the 133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampôtíma. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter- [137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré, [103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract [136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The [136] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late [132] start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[134] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
491 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[491] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

[133] [487] and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to [494] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow [238] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found [134] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River avichy (or aviuhy), which means "fluff water," by being "water." They are very fond of [301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and [237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

Chapter 2

[98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians.
103 They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

● 133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tampuñua and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]

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Map 2. The Middle Course of the Araguaia (18th Century).

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui,
that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the
Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupí tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch,
abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred
to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about
the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned
dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October.
During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many
places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
●[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to
crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The
latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off
artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and
267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces
and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá
in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine,
and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue.
Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which
sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters,
but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man.
[Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have al-
ready mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large
barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with
one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a
paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitana I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32).
Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, accord-
ing to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the
water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy
for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

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Plate 28

1. First tree obstacle in the Tapirapé River.

2. Conquering the waterfall in the Tapirapé River.

3. "Smooth" channel in the upper course of the Tapirapé River.

4. My men on the march to the villages of the Tapirapé.

/Plate 28 faces p. 120./

S. Krause--17 E-5 (1908) 1911 SPI Camp Tapirapé 1912

S: Krause--18 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Camja
Tapirapé SP 09

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1. Lake blocked off by a fence on the Tapirapé River. View from the end of the lake.

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2. Tapirapé grill in the forest.

/Pl. 29 faces p. 124./

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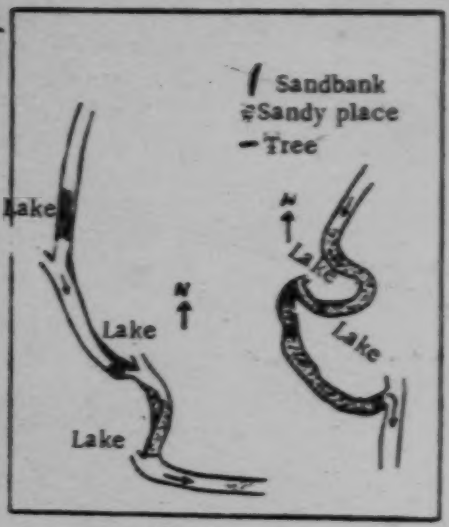

Ill. 4.
Dry stretches of river beside and below the lakes. Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 4 appears on p. 117./

Ill. 5.
Sketch map of the lost corner. Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 5 appears on p. 118./

S: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirapé SP32
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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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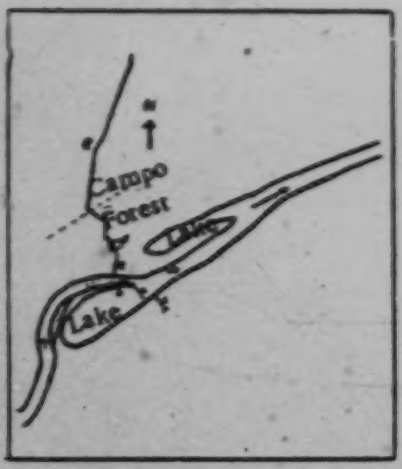

a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[499] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[143] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[332] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP32

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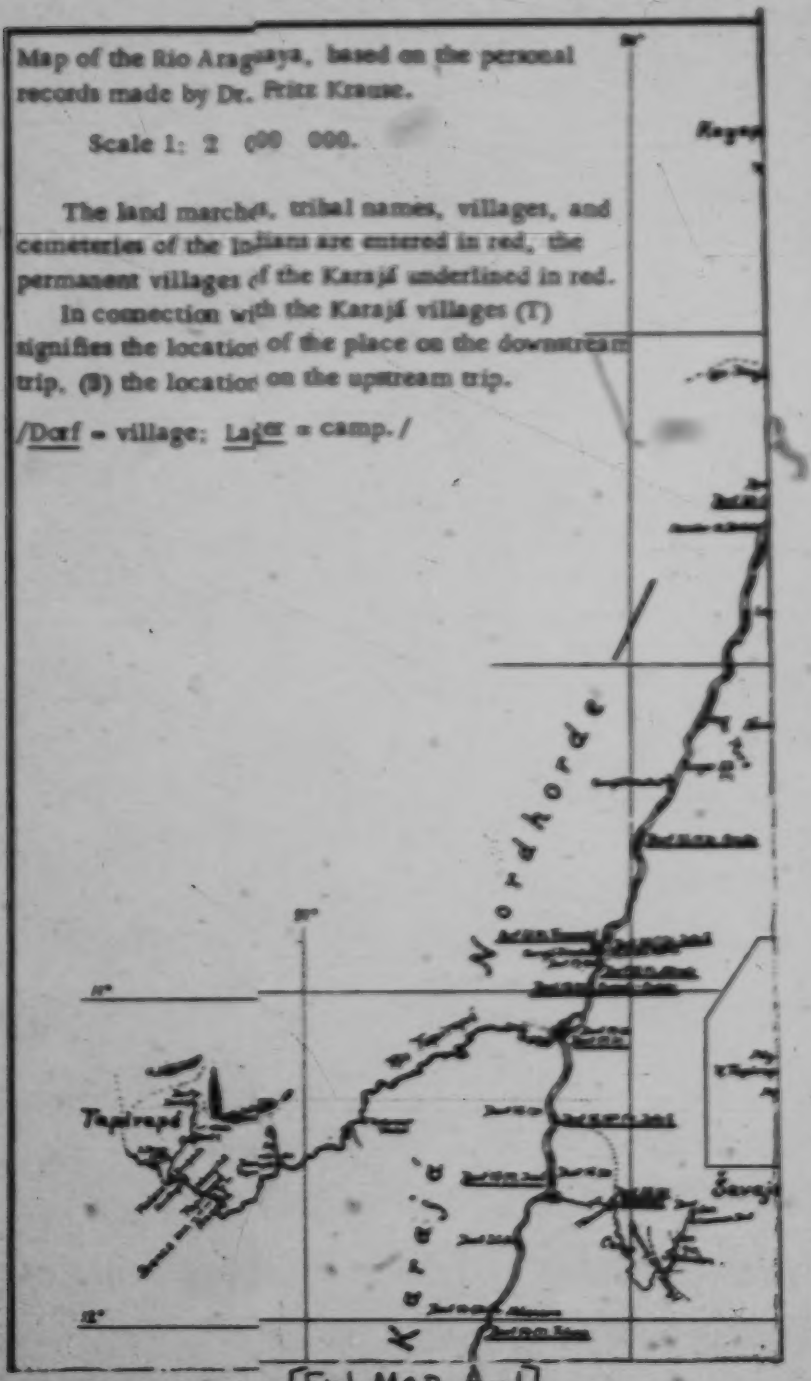
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (I) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (II) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

S. Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP32
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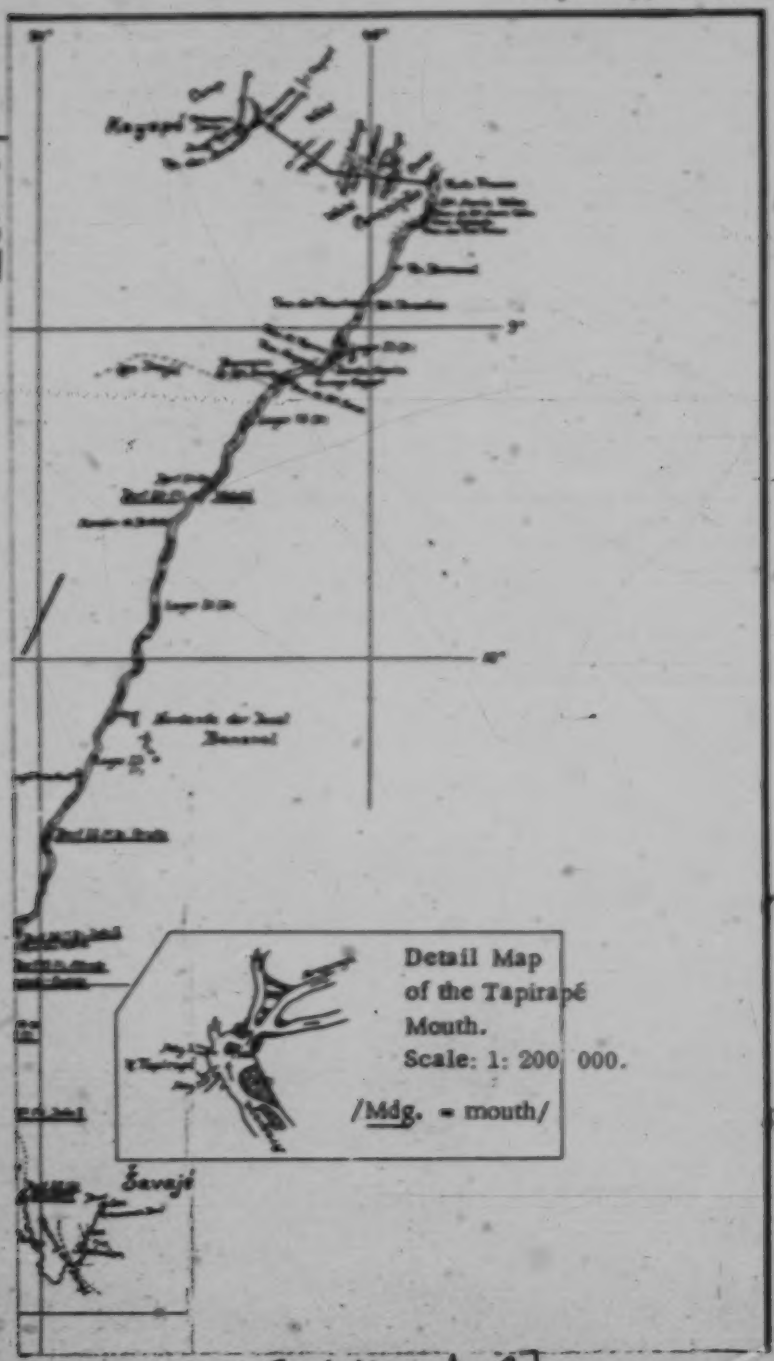
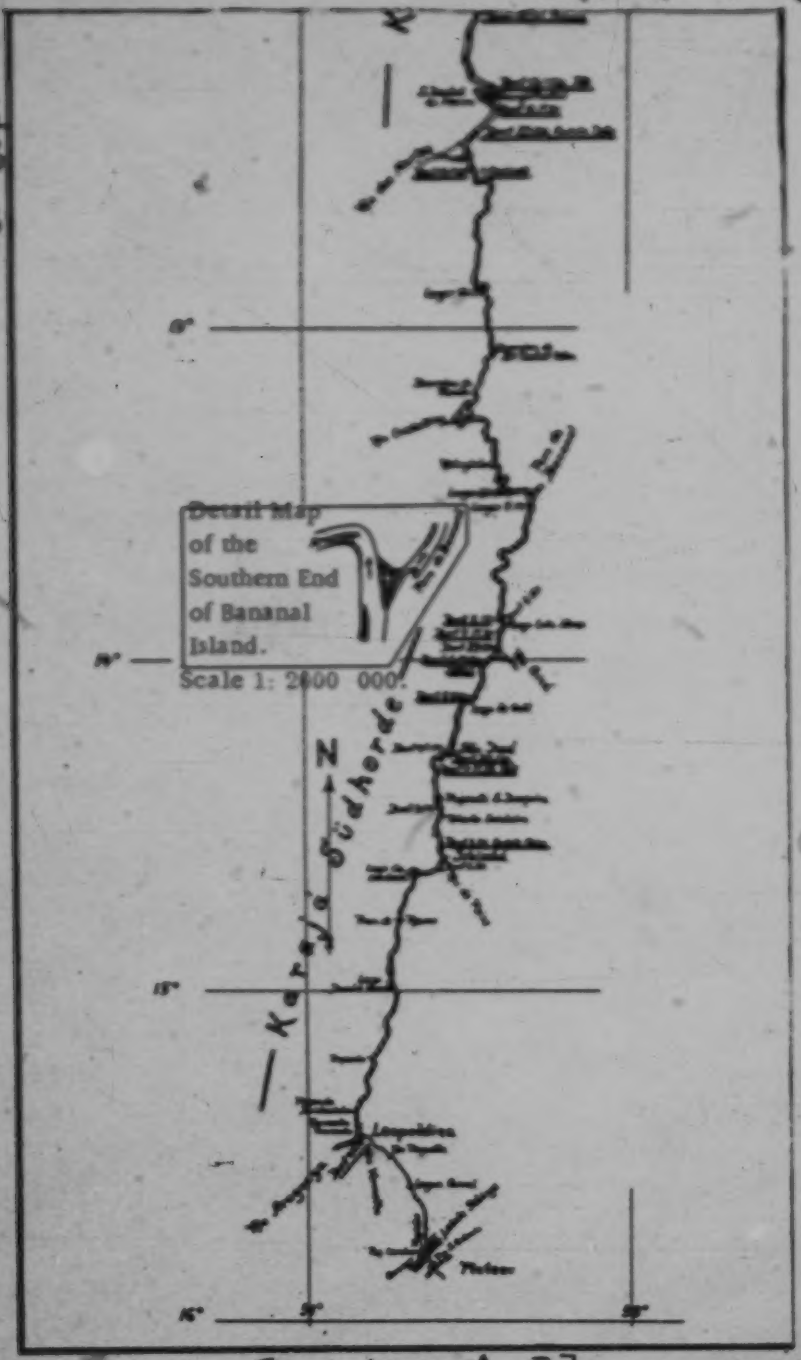


[End Map A-2]

S: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Canoja SP9 Tapirape SP#2
CT 101 102 103 131 133 361



[End Map A-3]

S: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bocoro SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--389 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Casa a SP9
Bototo SP8
Tal. rapr SP 22

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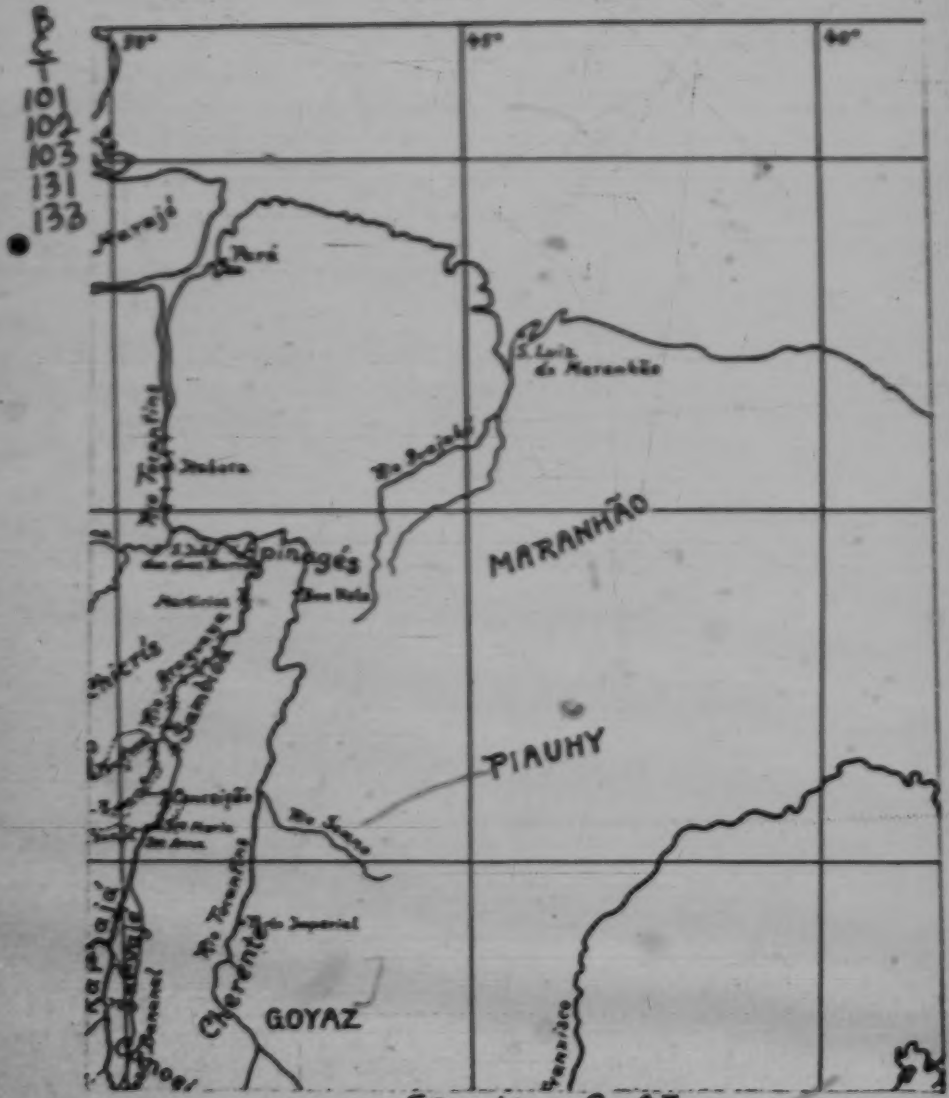
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.

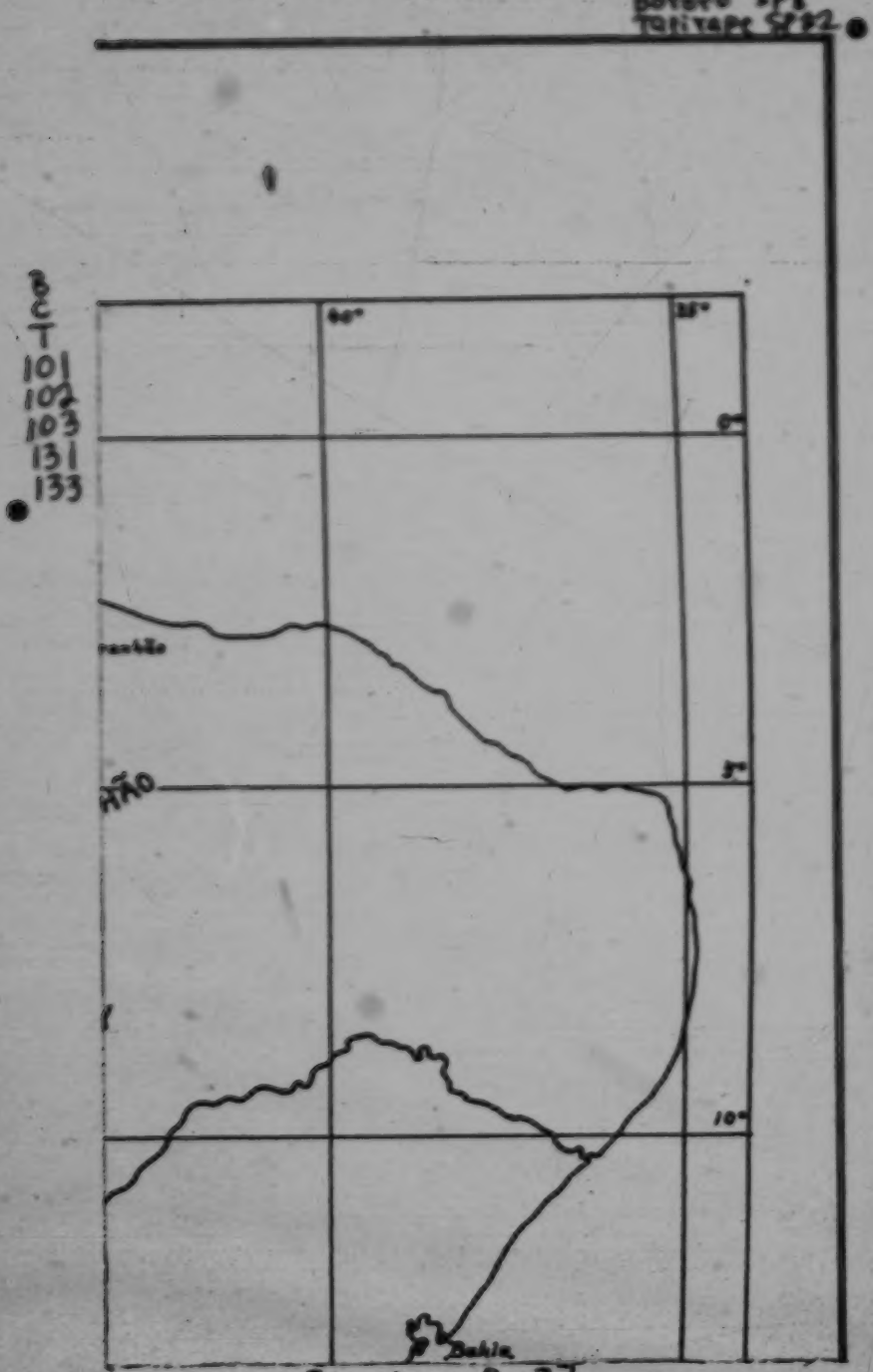
[End Map B-1]

S: Krause--370 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9
BOTOTO SP8
Tapirapé SP 22



[End Map B-2]

S: Krause--371 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Canoja SP9
Bovoro SP8
Toriyapi SP12



[End Map B-3]

S. Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Cayua SP9

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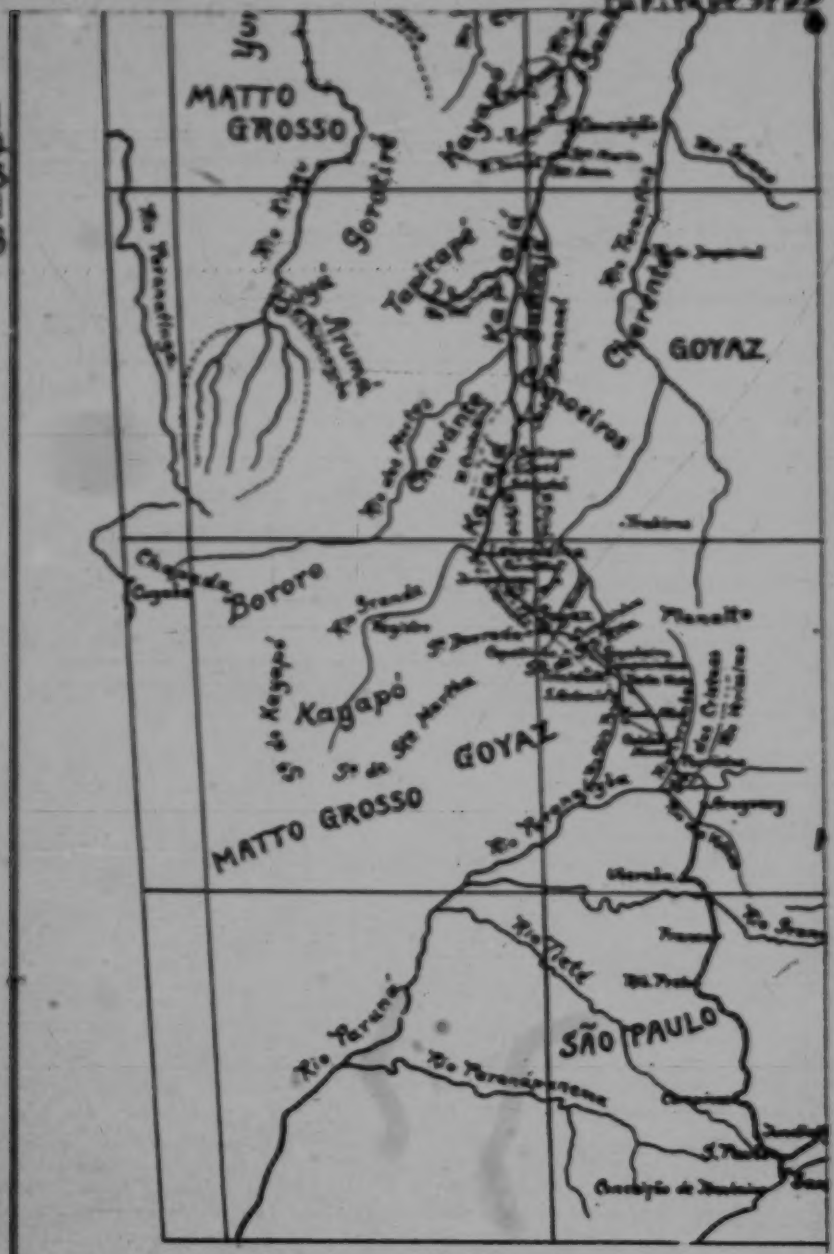

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

S: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Boyoro SP8
Tapirape SP22

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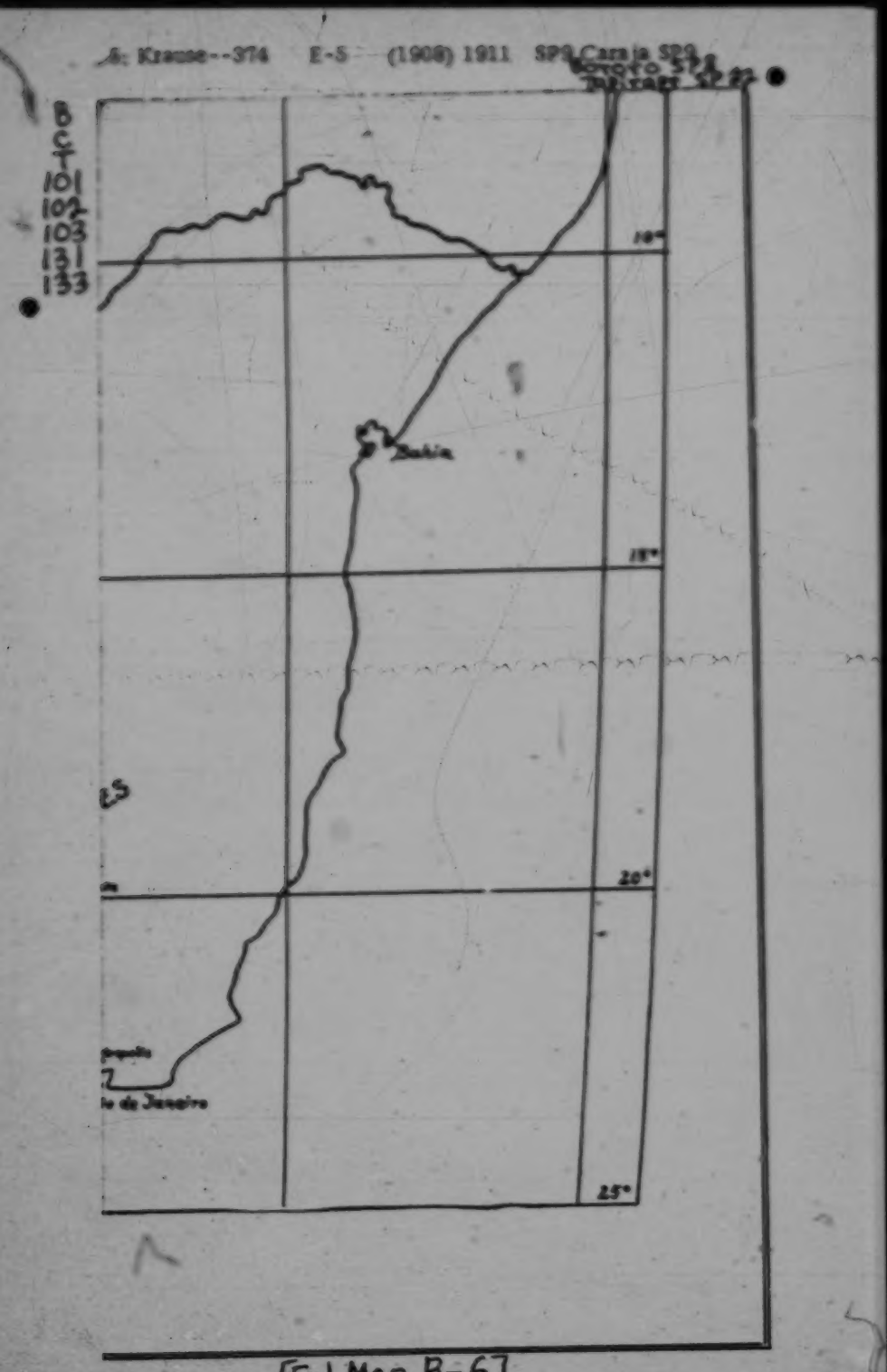
[End Map B-5]


A. Krause--374 E-S (1908) 1911 SPS Carraja SPS
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[End Map B-6]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[37] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work festival (apañirõ). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apañirõ, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaú) at the end of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

23: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
[P. 404] SP22 Tapirapé SP22

(Champuíwi on the Trip to Pozo de Pedra.

of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champuíwi.

Champuíwi adjusted to Pozo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Pozo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Carajá Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champuíwi was a bit of a curiosity—the town-people had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited Him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

Charles Wagley

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
132 forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
133 ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no-less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[954] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[987] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[995] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[996] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

S: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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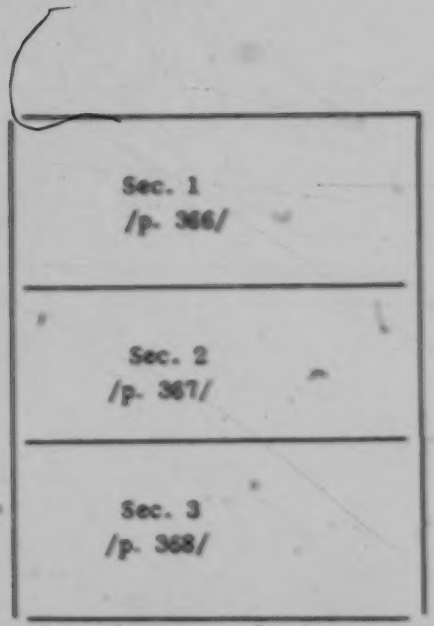

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]